

THE

## Art of Canvassing

A T

ELECTIONS, 4

*Perfect in all Respects;*

A N D

Highly necessary to be understood by the  
Electors, no less than by the Candidates :

Written

Near two thousand years ago, for the use of  
the greatest Scholar, and most consummate  
States-man then in the World ;

And now

*Cicero (97) The Elder*

Publish'd in the English tongue, against the ensu-  
ing Election of Parliament.

*Nihil tam incorruptum esse debet in Republica,  
quàm Suffragium.*

Cic. de Repub. l. 4. apud Marcell. l. 30.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms  
in Warwick-lane. 1714. Price 6 d.

THE  
ART OF CALVING

ELECTIONS

Proposed in all Respects

It is necessary to be well informed by the  
Library not only in the

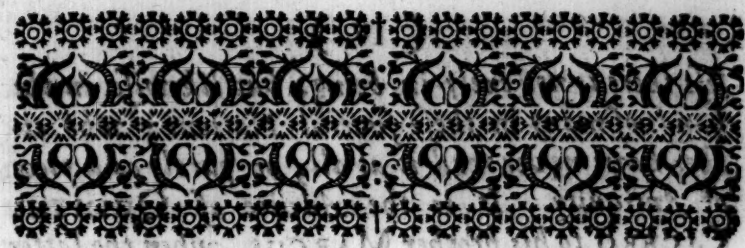


For two months  
the  
Statesman

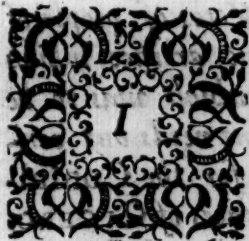
And now  
find in the London  
the Editor of

Mr. John  
of the  
of the

LONDON:  
Printed for J. Smith, near the Old Bailey  
in Water Lane. 1795. Price 6d.



# THE P R E F A C E.

 **NUMERABLE** are the Books in our language prescribing Directions, or offering Advice to the Electors ; but I could never hitherto hear of any that either did the one or the other good office to the Candidates : notwithstanding our Elections of Parliament be so frequent, and that the Task of the Candidates be infinitely more difficult than that of the Electors. If the Germans, or the Dutch, or the Italians, or other Nations where Elections subsist, have any such Treatise among 'em, tis more than I have yet seen, and I am inclin'd to believe they have none in their own tongues. Such a Treatise nevertheless

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less there is not onely in being, but likewise in the hands of many in these several Nations; who either have never read it at all, or purely as a piece of Antiquity. It is the Advice of **QUINTUS CICERO** to his brother **MARCUS**, when the latter stood for the \* **Consulship**, which he carry'd with no less Glory to himself than Safety to Rome. But as Nature is ever the same, so this little book is as useful at this time as it was so many hundred years ago; as useful to the English as to the Romans; and in every kind of Canvassing, as in that for the **Consulship**: for as this was the highest of all earthly Promotions and Honors obtain'd by free choice; so it comprehended under it all other sorts and degrees, with the several proper methods of working on the passions, of gaining the good will, and consequently the Votes of people of all ranks. To be satisfied, that no artifice which was to be practis'd, or difficulty which was to be surmounted, are here omitted; one needs but consider the Nature of the Election for the **Consulship**, and the Personal Circumstances of **CICERO**. I shall not enter here upon the Ocean of Roman Magistracies, nor their difference from ours; but desire the Reader to imagine to himself, as if all the Freeholders in Great Britain, by their Counties and their Hundreds (or their Tribes and Centuries) were to meet on Salisbury-plain, to chuse

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\* De Petitione Consulatus.

two annual Kings. The Canvassing as'd (for the most part) to continue a whole year before, when not onely interest was to be made with the Nobility and Commons in general, with the Horse and Foot; but in particular with the several Cities, Burroughs, Bodies corporate, Villages, and Vicinities: so that, as I said just now, all other Elections were contain'd in this one; since the means to procure any of those parties or places to vote for a Consul at Rome, must have been the very same to make 'em vote at home, for any inferior Magistrate, Deputy, or Representative. As for the personal circumstances of CICERO, he had the disadvantage to be the first of his family that made a considerable figure, and that became eminently known to the public; which sort of people we commonly term Upstarts, as the Romans call'd 'em New men: and as now, so likewise at that time, such men us'd to be no less despis'd and run down by the old Nobility, than envy'd and oppos'd by their Inferiors or Equals. CICERO, its true, was the most eloquent of all the Romans, which is a point that seems of little consequence in England: and yet we are to observe, without naming any body, that the most eloquent man is generally the most considerable, even with us. But the more the difficulties were in number which lay in his way, the more particular are the precepts which QUINTUS lays down for removing them; and which may suit most mens circumstances, as well as those of MARCUS. Nay, where

where the Case is peculiarly his own (since every Candidate is not an Advocate, nor oppos'd by such Competitors as ANTONY and CATILINE) yet the general Rules are still the same, and may by every one be apply'd as his proper case requires. It has ever been the custom (tho a very unjust one) as it will ever be the Custom, for each Candidate by himself, and by his friends, to bespatter their Competitors with all the art and earnestness conceivable: but, since they must keep within the rules of probability, it is not necessary that every one shou'd charge his Antagonists with such detestable crimes as CATILINE had committed in a preceding Civil War, then fresh in memory. I am sorry however, that the Character of ANTONY shou'd fit so many among us: but malice, on such occasions, will be quick-sighted enough, to find out every other blot that may be hit, as easily as were his prodigality, luxury, neediness, and indolence. The first four Sections of this Book relate in a special manner to CICERO, and to these his two chiefeft Competitors; but from the fifth Section (inclusively) to the end, the Art of Canvassing (which is the art of gaining upon the affections of men, in suing for an Office or a Place) is set forth by QUINTUS in all its colours, and indeed to the highest Perfection, tho in the most concise, but withal in the most perspicuous manner: and, to give a necessary hint by the way, it is every whit as useful a manual for a Candidate at Court,

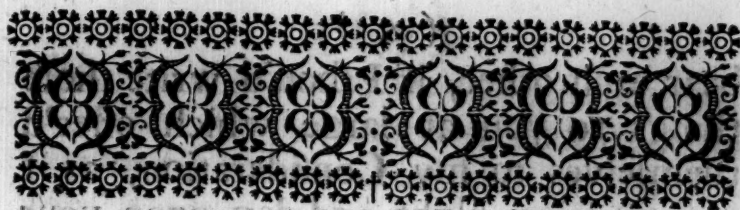
Court, as for a Candidate in a County or Corporation; the Politics here laid down being infinitely more refin'd than adroit MACCHIAVEL pretended to teach, or bungling OXFORD attempted to practice. The original Latin is so pure, that many were of opinion it must have been written by MARCUS himself: not considering that QUINTUS was a very learned and polite man, that he wrote Annals, with several Poems and Tragedies, and that his extant Letters do in all respects show him as great a master of sense and stile, as this Book demands. Yet I doubt not but it was revis'd by MARCUS, according to his brother's request in the conclusion. I hope no body will be so unjust, as to charge me with approving all the Rules given in this Treatise; such as, the several motives for the Candidates to promise the Electors what they know they shall never be able to perform, with their several come-offs: and the advices to wheedle in their turn with each of the two Parties, the Aristocratical and the Democratical, which from the very beginning had divided the Roman Commonwealth; for I only discover what's usually practis'd, but not direct what's fit to be done. Or if some people will needs have it, that I intend more by this publication than I think proper to tell; yet they must necessarily allow me to be impartial, since I offer these arms to be us'd by Whigs and Tories alike, and that I let the Electors into the secret of the Candidates. Notwithstanding our Author's wishes that his Brief Treatise of Canvassing  
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(for this is the true \* Title) might be perfect in all respects, and that I am of opinion it is so; yet I foresee it will be objected, that no rules are to be found in it, about crying up the Danger of the Church, or kissing all the Elector's Wives: and I must fairly own that QUINTUS never dreamt of these two Points. For these same Heathens had too great a regard for their Religion and their Wives, to prostitute either of 'em in so profligate a manner, as to persuade the world, that they neither believ'd the one, nor lov'd the other; so that if an equal regard be paid to Christian Faith or Purity, my book may be still perfect in its kind, for all this Omission. Which of the various Readings I have follow'd, and what liberties I have or have not taken in this Translation, are things the proper Judges will easily perceive; and in which the bulk of my Readers not being concern'd, I leave 'em to consider the sense at their leisure, and to proceed to the choice of a good Parliament, when King GEORGE shall think it for his Service (which will ever be their Happiness) to summon one.

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\* *Commentariolum Petitionis.*

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# THE ART

OF

Canvassing, &c.



INTRODUCTION.

**W**OTWITHSTANDING  
you are furnish'd with e-  
very thing that men can  
attain, either by Nature  
or Experience, or their  
own Industry, yet I  
thought it not unbecoming the love we  
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bear each other, if I shou'd write those things to you at large which offer'd themselves to my Consideration, as I was museing night and day upon your design to stand *for the Consulship*: not that I imagin'd I cou'd add any thing new to what you know already: but that what seems in this matter to ly infinitely scatter'd and confus'd, might, by a proper method and distribution, be plac'd in one view.

## I.

THE Nature can do a great deal, yet I am of opinion, that Art may get the better of Nature, in an affair of only a few months. Consider what City you have to do withall, what it is you desire, and what kind of man you are your self. Almost every day as you come down to the Forum, let this be your meditation, *I am a New man, I desire the Consulship, Rome is the place*. You'll extremely lessen the novelty of your Name, by the glory of your Eloquence: for this accomplishment has at all times been in very high repute. He that is  
thought

thought worthy to be the advocate of Consular Men, cannot himself be thought unworthy of the Consulship. Wherefore, since it is from this Commendation you have your Original, and that whatever you are is solely owing to this ; be sure to come always so well prepar'd for speaking in public, as if in every particular cause a judgment was to be form'd, of all you cou'd ever be able to do hereafter. Take care that you have still in readiness and at hand, those helps of this Oratorial faculty, which I know you have laid up in store ; and frequently call to mind what DEMETRIUS has left in writing, concerning the Study and indefatigable Industry of DEMOSTHENES. Next let the multitude, and various degrees of your Friends appear : for you have those advantages which other new men have likewise had ; namely, all the farmers of the Revenues, almost all the Equestrian Order, besides many Burroughs, many of all ranks and degrees, that have been defended by you, as likewise some Companies and Fraternities. Over and above these, you have gain'd several young

Gentlemen by their love of Eloquence, you have the numerous resort and daily attendance of Friends. Now be careful to hold all these by recommendations, by entreaties, and by so bringing it to pass every way, that they who have been oblig'd by you may be persuaded, they shall never find another occasion to shew their Gratitude ; nor they who wou'd oblige you, ever light again on so good an opportunity for their purpose. The favor of Noblemen, especially those of Consular families, may in all likelihood very much advantage a New man : as it must be useful to have those same men, into whose number and rank you wou'd be receiv'd, to think you deserving of that rank and number. These must be all diligently entreated ; they must be sent to, and made to believe, that we have been ever of the same Opinion with the Nobility, concerning the Government, but never of the Popular Faction : or that if at any time we spoke in the popular Strain, it was only with a design to induce POMPEY to join with us, to the end we might in our Election have the most powerful man of the City  
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for our friend, or at least that he should not be our enemy. You must further endeavour to procure many of the young Nobility to be zealous for you, or to keep to you those who are such already. You have several : but order it so, that they may understand how much you depend upon them ; and they will be very serviceable, if you bring 'em to such a temper as that they who are not quite against you may be in earnest for you.

## II.

NOR will it a little help the Novelty of your name, to have such Noblemen stand with you, as no body will dare affirm that their Nobility can do them greater service, than your Vertue must do to you. For as to PUBLIUS GALBA, and LUCIUS CASSIUS, tho' persons of the highest birth, who is it imagines, that they shou'd canvass for the Consulship ? You perceive therefore, how men of the most illustrious families, because without interest or authority, can not possibly be equal to you. But

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ANTONY and CATILINE are troublesome. On the contrary, they are both of them (to those who judge rightly of things) such competitors as were to be wish'd by a New man who is industrious, blameless, eloquent, and acceptable. Both of 'em have been Murtherers from their Childhood, both Whoremasters, both indigent. We have seen the goods of one of 'em sold by public auction; nay, we have heard him take his Oath, that he cou'd not obtain a fair Trial at *Rome* with a *Grecian* fellow; and we know he was expell'd out of the Senate: yet to the great credit of the Censors, we have had him for a Competitor in the Pretorship, supported by such friends as SABIDIUS and PANTHER, when he cou'd prevail with no others to stand by the Election-books for him; in which Magistracy, nevertheless, he bought a mistress from off the stage, which he had the impudence to keep publicly in his house. But during this Canvassing for the Consulship, he chose rather to plunder all the Inn-keepers in his way upon a most dishonorable Embassy, than to be present, and intreat in person the People

ple of *Rome*. But the other (good Gods!) in what reputation is he? First, he's of equal nobility. But has he not a greater estate? no, but more courage: for whereas the former is poorly afraid of his own shadow, the latter is not afraid even of the Laws; having been born in his father's neediness, bred up in his sister's whoredoms, grown a full man in the slaughter of his fellow-citizens, and whose first access to Government was in murdering the *Roman* Knights. For SYLLA made CATILINE alone the Captain of those *Gauls*, whom we all remember, and who took off the heads of the TITINIUS's, the NANNIUS's, and the TANUSIUS's; among whom he kill'd with his own hands QUINTUS CECILIUS, a *Roman* Knight, and a very honest Man, of no party, who was ever quiet by nature, as he was then by reason of old age.

### III.

WHAT now shall I say of that man's pretending to the Consulship? who in sight of the *Roman* People, scourg'd

scourg'd with Rods throughout the whole City **MARCUS MARIUS**, a Person extremely belov'd by this same People? who drove him before him up to a Tomb? there mangl'd him alive with all manner of Torments? with his own right Hand cut off his Head by a Sword, just as he stood; while he held it by the hair of the Top with his left? who lifted up this Head on high, while streams of blood flow'd down between his Fingers? who afterwards led such a life with Stage-players and Gladiators, that he had the one assistants of his lust, as the others were accomplices of his cruelty? who never came into any place ever so sacred or religious, but where, tho others might be without all blame, yet, by reason of his vitiousness, he had not left some suspicion of dishonor behind him? who out of the Senate purchas'd the **CURIUS's**, and the **ANNIUS's** for his most intimate Companions, the **SAPALA's** and the **CARVILCUS's** out of the Auction-halls, the **POMPILIUS's** and the **VETTIUS's** out of the Equestrian Order? who had so much impudence, so much leudness, so much art

art and efficacy in his lust, that he debauches Children under age in the very arms almost of their parents. What shou'd I now write to you concerning his Administration in *Africa*? what of the depositions of the Witnesses? They are well known, and be you sure to read them often over. But this I think must not be pass'd in silence: that in the first place, he departed as poor from that Tryal, as some of his Judges were so before it; and, in the next place, so odious, that a new Tryal is daily sollicit-ed against him. His circumstances are such, that he will rather be apt to fear, tho he shou'd do nothing; than to despise, if he shou'd attempt any thing: How much more fortunate are you in your Canvassing, than was lately CAIUS CELIUS, another New man? He stood with two Persons so truly noble, that they yet excell'd more in all other qualities, than in their very nobility: men of the greatest understandings, of the greatest modesty, of the most obliging tempers, of the greatest consideration and diligence in their Canvassing. CELIUS nevertheless did almost carry it against

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one of 'em, tho he was much inferior in family, and superior in nothing else. Wherefore, if you practice those things with which your genius, and the Studies you have ever follow'd, so liberally furnish you, which the present time requires of you, which (in a Word) you both can and ought to do; then the contest won't be difficult with those Competitors, who are by no means so renown'd for their lineage, as remarkable for their vices: for what Citizen can there be found so flagitious, that with one Vote wou'd draw two daggers against the Commonwealth?

## IV.

SINCE I have shown what Advantages you have, and may have, to help out the Novelty of your name; now it seems requisite, that I shou'd speak of the greatness of your undertaking. *You stand Candidate for the Consulship*, of which honor, tho there be none who does not think you worthy, yet there are many who may envy it. For you, being only of the Equestrian Order,

Order, yet aspire to the highest Post of the Government: and even in this respect the highest, that to a man of courage, eloquence, and integrity, this very honor shall add much more Dignity, than to the rest who are so. Nor must you fancy, but that they who have already enjoy'd this Post, don't see what authority you are like to acquire, when once you have obtain'd the same. But I further suspect, that they who are descended of Consular families, and have not yet fill'd the posts of their Ancestors, will be apt to envy you, still excepting them that love you very well: and I am of opinion, that even the New men of Pretorian families, excepting those who are bound to you by some good Offices, wou'd not willingly see you get above themselves by this promotion. I am certain you are mindful, how many envious creatures there are among the People, how many, according to the bent of late years, are quite alienated from New men: and it cannot be, but that some are angry with you on the account of those Causes you have pleaded. Now be sure to consider di-

ligently one particular: whether in laying out your self with so great eagerness to raise the glory of POMPEY, you have reason to think that you have gain'd any friends on that score. Wherefore, since, first, you seek the highest Post in the City, and that, next, you see there want not inclinations to thwart you; you must necessarily make use of all Consideration, Care, Labor, and Diligence.

## V.

NOW the Diligence in Canvassing for Magistracies is divided into two several sorts: wherof the one is to be laid out upon the affections of our Friends, and the other upon the favor of the People. The Desires of our friends in our behalf, must be procur'd by obligations and offices, by long acquaintance, by complaisance, and by an agreeableness of disposition. But this name of Friend is of a larger signification in Canvassing, than in any other part of Life: for whoever shows any inclination towards you, whoever makes the least  
court

court to you, or comes frequently to your House, he is to be accounted among the number of your friends: but as for those who are friends upon a more solid bottom, as by kindred, affinity, being of the same incorporate Company, or in any near conjunction, to be dear, (I say) and agreeable to these is very advantageous. Next you must strenuously labor, that by how much more intimate or familiar any one is with you, he may love you so much the more, and be desirous to see you made as great as can be: and then that they of the same Tribe with you, that your Neighbors, and your Clients or dependents may wish the same thing; and, lastly, your very Servants; for the authors of almost all those discourses, which give us any good or bad reputation abroad, proceed out of our own houses. Finally, our Friends of every kind are to be distributed into their several ranks: as Men illustrious by their names or employments, to make a show; who, altho they may not much exert themselves in getting Votes, yet they add some dignity to the Candidate: Magistrates

strates to obtain justice upon occasion; among which the Consuls first, and next the Tribunes of the People to manage the Centuries, as being men of the greatest influence. Such as by your means have receiv'd or hope to receive admittance into a Tribe or a Century, or that ly under any other obligation to you, these with much application gain and make sure: for of late years ambitious Persons have, with all earnestness, sedulity, and pains, endeavour'd to obtain what they stood for, from those of the same Tribe with themselves. Do you labor all manner of ways, that these Men may be affectionate for you from the bottom of their hearts, and out of the greatest good Will. And indeed if men were grateful enough, all these things ought to be already prepar'd to your hands, as I am fully confident they are: for within these two years you have oblig'd to your self the Companies of four Citizens, the most popular towards the procuring of votes; I mean those of MARCUS FUNDANIUS, QUINTUS GALLIUS, CAIUS CORNELIUS, and CAIUS ORCININUS: in recommending

mending of whose causes to you, I know, for I was present, what engagements their associates took upon them, and what assurances they gave you. Wherefore, this you must do at this time, to require from 'em the performance of what they ow, by frequently putting them in mind, by entreating them, by confirming them, and by taking such measures, as that they may be persuaded, they shall never have any other opportunity to show their gratitude. Thus certainly will men be excited to exert themselves vigorously, not only from the sense of fresh obligations, but also from the expectation of your good offices for the future. And since your Request is chiefly supported by that kind of friendship, which you have gain'd in defending causes; see that every one of those, whom you have oblig'd, have his proper part assign'd and distributed to him : and as you have never upon any occasion been troublesome to any of 'em, so order it that they may understand, you have reserv'd for this time all the returns that ever you expected from them.

VI. BUT

## VI.

**BUT** since Men are chiefly mov'd to Kindness, and eagerness of voting, by three things; which are obligation, hope, and favor or propensity of Mind: you must duly consider in what manner you are to attend every one of these. Men are led by the smallest obligations, to think they have sufficient reasons for voting: so farr will they (whom you have defended, and who are many in number) be from not understanding, that, if they do not do you justice at this juncture when you want them, they can never be well thought of by any body ever after. Notwithstanding this be the truth of the case, yet these very Men are to be entreated, nay and to be work'd up to this Persuasion, that their being still oblig'd to us, shou'd make us reciprocally oblig'd in some manner to them. But as for those who are held by Hope (which sort of men are likewise much more diligent and officious than others) take care, that your assistance may always appear to be

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at their command and in readiness ; that they may look upon you (in short) as the diligent observer of all their Services : and that it may appear, you plainly see and take notice, how much every one of 'em is able to perform. The third sort is of voluntary affections, and must be secur'd to you by returning of frequent thanks, by accommodating your discourse to those Subjects for which each of 'em shall seem to like you, by Protestations of equal good will, and by giving hopes that your Friendship may turn in time to familiarity and intimacy. Now in all these sorts of People judge well and examine, what every one of 'em is able to accomplish, that you may know in what particular you may be serviceable to each, and what it is from each that you expect and require. For there be some Men who are highly esteem'd in their Neighborhoods, and in those Corporations where they dwell ; there be who are industrious and rich ; and who, tho they may never before have endeavor'd to oblige in this way, yet they can easily and immediately turn themselves to it, for the sake of any to whom they ow or are

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willing to do a good turn. You must so attend every one of these sorts of People, as that they may be convinc'd you well understand what you expect from each of 'em, that you are sensible of what you receive, and mindful that you have receiv'd it. But there are others who either can do nothing in their Tribes, or it may be are hated there; neither having so much courage, nor so much wealth, as to enable 'em to act on a sudden. These you must therefore nicely distinguish, lest placing more hope in any of 'em than you ought, you be little the better for this sort of help.

## VII.

AND tho after having gain'd and confirm'd those Friends, one must appear confident and sufficiently provided; yet during the very Canvassing itself several sorts of friends are procur'd, and of very great use. For among the many inconveniences that attend Canvassing, it has still this convenience, that (what in the other parts of life cannot be done) you may then handsomly do; that is, court the friendship of whomsoever

ever you will, and such as if you solli-  
cited at another time to familiarity, you  
wou'd seem to act very absurdly; wher-  
as, unless you act just thus during an E-  
lection (both in regard to many persons,  
and with much application) you'll pass  
for a Candidate good for nothing. But  
I take upon me to assure you, that there  
is not a man (unless by some tie he be  
already engag'd to one of your Compe-  
titors) of whom you may not easily  
obtain, if you take pains about it, that  
he may by some good office of his own  
merit your love, and make you oblig'd  
to him: provided always he conceives  
that you very much esteem him, that  
you deal sincerely, that he lays out his  
kindness to good purpose, and that the  
friendship thence resulting is not like  
to prove short-liv'd and Canvassatory,  
but firm and perpetual. Believe me,  
there won't be a man, who has any  
spark of virtue, that will let slip this  
occasion which offers it self, of making  
you his friend: especially when such is  
your good fortune, that the friendship  
of those who stand with you, is either  
to be despis'd or avoided; and who are  
so farr from being likely to atchieve

what I advise you, that they are not even able to attempt it. For how shou'd ANTONY go about to ingage or to invite those men to a friendship with him, whom of himself he's not able to salute by their proper names? for really there seems nothing more foolish to me, than if you shou'd imagine a man might be zealous for you, whom you do not so much as know. Very extraordinary indeed must be the glory and dignity of that person, very great his exploits, who, without any to canvass for him shou'd receive Promotion from perfect strangers: as it cannot possibly happen, without most blame-worthy negligence, that a stupid fellow, no way obliging, without genius, without friends, and infamous into the bargain, shou'd carry it against a man, who is supported by the affection of very many, and by the extraordinary esteem of all.

### VIII.

Wherefore, be careful to have all the Centuries made sure to you by many Friends, and of several sorts: and in the first place, what is self-evident, the *Roman* Senators and Knights; taking in the

the active and popular men of all other ranks and degrees. There are many industrious men in the City, many stirring and reputable Freed-men that frequent the Forum, whose interest you may win by your self or by your common friends. Leave nothing undone to make these your own: be at thorough pains, make court to them, send others on your behalf, show that you are oblig'd to the highest degree. In the next place, have an exact account of the whole City, of all the Companies, of the country Villages, and of the several Neighborhoods. If you can ingage the principal men of these places to be your friends, you'll easily hold fast the rest of the multitude by their means. After this, you must keep in your mind, and ever present to your memory, a Map of all *Italy* parted into its several Tribes, and comprizing them every one. Let not a Burrough escape you, or Colony, or Government, or in a word any place of *Italy*, in which your interest may not be made strong enough for your purpose. You must likewise diligently enquire and find out certain men in every district, whom you must personally know, caress, and  
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confirm to you ; and order it so, as that they may randy for you in their several neighborhoods, being as it were so many Candidates in your stead. These will court your friendship, if they perceive that you covet theirs : and you'll most easily bring it to pass that they may believe this, by using that kind of Speech which is proper to the occasion. If the inhabitants of Corporations, and country Clowns, are but known to us by their names, they presently imagine us to be their friends : but if they believe without to establish thereby any help or protection to themselves, they don't readily lose the opportunity of deserving it. With these neither the rest, nor particularly your Competitors, have any acquaintance : but you know some, and will quickly be acquainted with others, without which there can be no friendship. Yet this is not enough, tho it goes a great way, if the expectation of advantage and intimacy does not follow upon it ; lest you shou'd pass only for a good Name-teller, and not also for a good Friend. Wherefore, since you are to have these very men for you in the Centuries, who, in procuring of Votes, bear a great

great sway in their Tribes; and such others as by virtue of the post they enjoy in a Burrough, City, or Company, have an interest with any part of their Tribe, you have reason to be fill'd with all the hopes imaginable. Now, in my opinion, the Centuries of the Horse are much easier preserv'd, provided any diligence be us'd. First, acquaintance is to be made with the Knights themselves; for they are few in number: next, they are to be soon won over to your side; for young men are the easiest inclin'd to friendship: and then of course you'll have along with you the flower of all the youth, and such as are the greatest lovers of humanity. Thus, because the Equestrian Order is your own, these young men will follow the authority of the Order; especially, if such diligence be used by you, that those Centuries be made sure, not only by the favor of the whole Order, but likewise by the friendship of each particular. Now the affections of young Men in voting, in running to and fro, in carrying messages, in personal attendance, are wondrous ardent and very honorable.

## IX.

AND since I have mention'd personal Attendance, you must take such care in this particular, that some of every rank, degree, and age, may daily wait upon you : for a judgment may be made from the number of these, what force and interest you are like to have in the field. Now this same waiting is divided into three kinds. The first is of those, who come to greet us at our houses : the second is of those, who accompany us from thence, or back again : and the third is of those, who are every where our constant followers. As for those who frequent Levees (which is of the least importance) and who, according to the modern custom, come in great numbers, you are so to manage it, as if this small service of theirs were highly acceptable to you. Often hint to those who come to your house, that you take notice of it, and show the same to their friends who may tell it them again, yet speak of it frequently to themselves. Thus it not seldom happens, that men who go round several Competitors, and remark any one among 'em taking more  
notice

notice than the rest of these respects, they straight addict themselves to him, desert the others, and by little and little from common they become particular abbettors, from counterfeit real ones. But take special heed to this one point: if you shou'd hear by others, or perceive your self, any of those who promis'd going about to deceive you, that you wou'd dissemble your having ever heard or known of any such thing. If any is willing to clear himself to you, as believing himself suspected, you must assure him that you never doubted, nor ever had reason to doubt, of his good will: for he that thinks he has not given full satisfaction, can by no means be a true friend. But yet you ought perfectly to understand every man's inclination, that you may make an estimate, how farr you are to rely on each. Now by how much greater is the respect of those who accompany us from or to our houses, than of those who only come to greet us there; you must not only hint, but plainly show, that it is by so much the more acceptable to you, and, as often as may be, you are to walk down with them to the Forum. The great

number of those, who thus daily accompany one, begets a high opinion of him, and adds much to his dignity. The third kind of this same waiting, is the continual attendance of Followers. See that you persuade those who become voluntarily such, how infinitely you'll continue oblig'd to them during your whole Life. But you are plainly to require this duty, from such as owe it you: namely, that they continually attend you in person, who by their age and business are able to do so; or, that they who are not able themselves, may get their rooms supply'd by their nearest friends. I am very desirous, and I judge it essential to your design, that you have always a multitude with you. Moreover, it will add much to your reputation and authority, if you are accompanied by those who have been defended, preserv'd, and deliver'd by you from the sentence of public Judicatories. You are in positive terms to require this from them: that, since (without any expence) some of them have preserv'd their estate, others their honor, others both their lives and fortunes together by your means, they wou'd now repay you  
with

with this obligation; seeing there is to be no other time, wherein they may demonstrate their thankfulness.

## X.

AND since our whole Discourse hitherto concerns the affections of friends, we are not, I suppose, to pass over the Topic which in this subject is to be the most heedfully regarded; being this, that *All things in this world are full of deceit, and treachery, and falshood.* The present time does not admit of making a formal Dissertation on this head, *how a real Friend and a pretended one may be distinguish'd*, but only to give some cautions about it. Your eminent worth will drive the self-same persons, to pretend they are your friends; and at the same time to envy you. Wherefore remember that of EPICHRMUS, that *the sinews and joints of Wisdom, are, not to believe rashly.* When once you have settl'd the affections of your Friends, then take into consideration the several sorts both of your secret Disparagers and of your open Adversaries, with their several reasons. They are threefold. The first are they whom you have offended; the second,

they who, tho without any cause, do not love you; the third, they who are very much the friends of your Competitors. Clear your self in the plainest manner to those you have offended, as when you pleaded (for example) in the cause of any friend against them: put them in mind of the nature of strict obligations: induce them to hope: promise, that you will be every whit as hearty and diligent on occasion in their concerns, provided now they will become your sincere friends. Those, who without any cause do not love you, you must cajole either by some present benefit, or by putting 'em in hopes, or by declaring your resolution to serve 'em effectually in time; doing your best endeavour to bring 'em out of that pravity of disposition. Make use of the same discourses, as you have done to the two sorts above mention'd, to those, whose inclination shall be alienated from you, by reason of their friendship for your Competitors; and, if you can any way make it pass, show that you are a well-wisher even to those Competitors your self.

## XI.

SEEING we have said enough about procuring of Friends, we must now speak to that other part of Canvassing, which consists in gaining the People in general. This requires the Saluting of persons by their names, Fawning, Application, Liberality, common Fame, and good hopes as to the public Government. First let it be seen, as indeed you do, that you know people well; and encrease this knowledge, that you may every day be the readier at it: for nothing seems to me more popular or grateful than this. Then, as to what you have not from nature, you must resolve so to dissemble, as if you did this same thing very naturally: for you want not for Suppleness, I mean such as is becoming an honest and an agreeable man. But above all things Fawning is requisite, which, altho it be vicious and base in the other parts of Life, yet in this of Canvassing it is unavoidable: for then indeed Fawning is naughty, when by flattery it makes any man worse; but not quite so blameable, when it makes him only more friendly. But tis absolutely necessary to a Canvasser,

fer, whose forehead, and countenance, and speech, must be dextrously accommodated to the sentiments and inclinations of all those, whom he shall chance to meet. Concerning Application or Diligence, no precept can be given, and the very word reaches what it is. 'Tis extremely useful, I confess, to be wanting in no place: yet this is also the effect of Diligence, not onely to be at *Rome*, and in the Forum, but to canvass perpetually, frequently to speak to the same persons, and not to permit that any body shou'd be able to say, that you might obtain what was in his power, had you but entreated for it; I say, both earnestly and diligently entreated. Liberality is of great extent. It is to be seen in the management of a man's private fortune, which altho it cannot reach to the multitude, yet it is extoll'd by friends, and is very grateful to the people. It is to be seen in Feasts or Treats, which you must not forget to give your self, and order to be given by your friends, as well up and down upon occasion, as Tribe by Tribe. It is likewise to be seen in Service and Assistance, which you must freely communicate, and make yours public

public as it were. Take care that there be easy access to you by day and by night, not only by the doors of your house, but even by your forehead and your countenance, which are the gate of the mind. But if these denote the Will to be close and abstruse, it signifies little to set your doors open: for men will not only have promises made to them (especially of what they demand from Candidates) but they must needs have those promises made in a bountiful and honorable manner. So that in this case the rule is very easy, which is to give out, that whatever you promise to do, you will do it both earnestly and willingly: but it is a more difficult point, and rather befitting the present exigence than your own nature, either to promise with a good grace what you cannot perform, or ingenuously to refuse it; whereof the last is the Duty of a good man, as the first is of a good Canvasser.

## XII.

FOR when that is demanded which we cannot promise either honestly, or without detriment to our selves (as if some body shou'd entreat us to undertake

take a cause against any friend) you are to deny it handsomly; acting so as to make your conjunction with that friend apparent, showing how very much you are concern'd, and promising that in other instances you'll make ample compensation. I heard a certain man say of some Orators, to whom he had offer'd his cause to plead, that the discourse of him who refus'd it was much more agreeable to him, than his that receiv'd it. Thus men are taken more with one's countenance and speech, than with the real benefit and substance. Yet the one may be easily made go down, tho the other be somewhat hard of Digestion to you, who are a *Platonist* in Morals. But I shall have a regard to your time. For they, whom you refuse to assist upon the account of some strict obligation, may possibly part satisfied and good friends with you: but they whom you deny, under pretence of being taken up with the affairs of your friends, or with causes of greater weight, which you had undertaken before, will depart your enemies for certain; and all of 'em together are of this humor, that they had rather you shou'd tell them a lie, than give

give 'em a flat denial. CAIUS COTTA, who was a perfect master in Canvassing, us'd to say, that (when not sollicitated against previous engagements) he made no scruple of promiseing his assistance to every body, tho he lent it only to those with whom he thought it laid out to the best advantage. That for these following reasons he denied his service to none; because it cou'd often happen, that either he, to whom he promis'd, might not use it, or that he himself might often have more leisure than he imagin'd: that his house cou'd not be over fill'd, seeing he receiv'd no more causes than he cou'd well discharge; that it might so fall out, that those affairs shou'd be dispatch'd, which you did not then think of; and that what you thought in the greatest readiness, shou'd for some reason or other be put by: and that the worst which cou'd happen at last, was onely the man's being angry, to whom you gave the Denial. Whereas, if you promise; this anger is uncertain and at a distance, and from a few: but if you deny; you'll infallibly offend, and this presently, and a great many: for they are more in number who sollicite the

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assistance

assistance of another, than will ever use  
 it. It is therefore much more eligible,  
 to have some of 'em at one time or other  
 angry with you in the Forum, than to  
 have all of 'em always so at home : es-  
 pecially since they will be much angrier  
 with him who denies, than with him  
 whose time they see taken up on a rea-  
 sonable account ; as being one that wou'd  
 willingly perform what he promis'd,  
 were it any way in his power. But lest  
 I shou'd seem to depart from the method  
 laid down by my self (by discourging of  
 such things as these in that part of Can-  
 vassing which regards the people in ge-  
 neral) I have onely this in view, that  
 all these matters do not so much con-  
 cern the affections of friends, as they do  
 popular reputation : for tho something  
 there be relating to the former, as to give  
 fair answers, to do all that's in one's  
 power in dispatching the affairs, or war-  
 ding off the perils of friends ; yet I speak  
 of them onely in this place, as they  
 enable you to gain the multitude, that  
 your house may be fill'd at night, that  
 many may be held fast by the hopes of  
 your protection, that they may part  
 with you better friends than they came,  
 and

and that the ears of as many as possible may be fill'd with the most plausible discourses about you.

## XIII.

IT follows now that we shou'd speak of common Fame, to which must be paid a very particular regard. But indeed every one of the things we have mention'd hitherto in this Discourse, are most effectual in setting off one's Fame, *viz.* the glory of Eloquence, the zeal of the Farmer's of the Revenues and the Equestrian order, the favor of Noblemen, the resort of young Gentlemen, the Assiduity of them you have defended, the multitude of those who must appear to have come from their towns onely for your sake and service ; to which add, that people shou'd speak and look upon you as one that knows men well, that salutes them courteously by their names, that canvasses diligently and indefatigably, that is bountiful and liberal : that your house be fill'd late at night, that there be a numerous appearance of all degrees, that content be given to every one of 'em by your words, as to many of 'em by deeds and endeavors, that no-

thing be left undone that may be accomplished by labor, and art, and diligence ; not that fame can spread from every one of these things to the People, but that the People may be made acquainted with the things from which it really flows. Next we must rouse the zeal of the city Mob, and of those who love to frequent public Harangues, both whose affections you won in setting off the merits of POMPEY, in taking upon you the cause of MANILIUS, and in defending CORNELIUS ; nor was any ever yet in possession of these (the mob and the assembly-haunters) but the same had the open favor of all men, and that they all contributed to his glory. Nor must it be forgot by any means, to let all men know how flagrant is the favor of POMPEY towards you, and how highly it will contribute to his designs, that you shou'd succeed in what you desire. Lastly, let the whole transaction of your Canvassing be full of Pomp ; let it be illustrious, splendid, popular, making the noblest appearance, and showing the highest dignity ; and likewise, if it can be well brought about, order it so, that your Competitors may not, on this occasion, escape

escape the infamy of murther, or lewdness, or bribery, as these may best suit their several particular genius and manners. But above all things care is to be taken, that in your standing at this election, there be good hope entertain'd of you, with regard to the Commonwealth, and a very honorable opinion. Yet during the Canvassing, you must not concern your self with the Government, neither in the Senate, nor in Harangues to the People. But these points are to be kept fresh in your memory : that the Senate, from the consideration of your past life, may look upon you as a champion for its authority ; that the *Roman* Knights, with all sober and wealthy men, shou'd, from the same course of life, believe you to be a lover of Peace and Tranquillity ; and that the multitude shou'd fancy you to be no enemy to their interest, at least from this reason, that, in public Assemblies and Judicatories, your Speech has been always popular.

## XIV.

THESE are the things that offer'd themselves to my thoughts concerning those two morning admonitions, which I said you were to think upon every day, as you come down to the Forum : *I am a New man, I*

*desire*

*desire the Consulship.* Now the third admonition remains, *Rome is the place* : a city made up of the confluence of all nations, in which there abound many treacheries, many deceits, many vices of all sorts : where the arrogance of many, the opiniatrety, the malevolence, the haughtiness, the hatred, and impertinence of many, is to be patiently endur'd. I am satisfied that it is an affair of no small wisdom and art, for one that must live among so different, and so great vices of all kinds, to avoid giving offence, to avoid being made the subject of idle chat, to avoid the snares that may be laid for him : hard for one man to conform himself to so prodigious a variety of manners, discourses, and inclinations. Wherefore I repeat it again and again, continue to hold on in that course which you have begun, *Excell in Oratory* : for by this talent men are delighted and wheedled in *Rome*, by this they are kept at a distance from being troublesom or hurtful. But since the City is most of all corrupt in one particular, *viz. that by receiving of Bribes, Vertue and Worth are wont to be forgot*, be sure, therefore, to know your self thoroughly on this occasion : I mean that you be sensible, how well able you are to make your Competitors

petitors highly afraid of a Tryal, and of imminent danger from your petitioning. Take care they be inform'd, that they are narrowly watch'd and observ'd by you, and then to be sure, they will be mighty apprehensive, no less of your diligence, authority, and powerful eloquence, than of the zeal of the Equestrian order towards you. I wou'd also have you insinuate these matters to them in such a manner, as that you may not seem to think already of drawing up a charge, but that by this kind of awe you may so much the more easily obtain the very thing you propose : and indeed you must endeavor with all your might and main, that we do effectually succeed in our purpose. I cou'd never perceive any Assembly so farr corrupted with Bribery, but that some Centuries wou'd declare gratis for their peculiar friends, especially those to whom they were on any account particularly engaged. If therefore we take all the pains which the importance of the thing requires, if we excite the highest zeal of our Well-wishers, if we assign the several parts they are to manage to the men of interest who espouse us, if we set the Tribunals of justice before the eyes of our Competitors, if we make their Agents actually afraid,

and

and that by any means we can restrain the distributors of their money ; it may then be so brought to pass, that there will either be no Bribery practis'd at all, or that it will be to no purpose.

### CONCLUSION.

**THESE** are the things which I did not suppose I understood better than your self, but that while you are so wholly taken up with your Election, I cou'd more easily collect them into one System, and so send them thus digested for your perusal. And tho I have not so written them as that they might be serviceable to all such as shall stand for Offices or Honors ; but particularly calculated them for you, and this your present Election: yet I wou'd have you freely tell me your opinion, if you think that any thing ought to be alter'd, or to be quite taken away, or may possibly have been forgotten ; for I am desirous to have this *Brief Treatise of Canvassing*, to be perfect in all respects.

**FINIS.**